1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1

household. In many cases, a newly married couple will live in the bride's home; in more cases, it will be in the husband's home. When the residence is patrilocal, a daughter-in-law is welcomed by the other women of a household since her presence means another pair of hands to help with the many daily tasks; but she may also be viewed as a potential source of conflict. But today so many young couples establish a home of their own that the in-law problem is not one of working together throughout the day but one of observing the proprieties when the couple goes to visit or receives the husband's parents. If the in-laws live in the neighborhood, the contact is more frequent and the daughter-in-law has to be on her best behavior to avoid offending the mother-in-law.

In those cases where the two women are in the same house, the mother-in-law is supposed to tell the daughter-in-law in a kindly way what is expected of her. This is of special importance if the younger woman comes from another village. Even during the brief engagement period, when the fiancée makes her visits to the young man's home, the mother-in-law will start the orientation. She shows the young woman how the bread is prepared and baked as well as how other household tasks are conducted. In Greece the relationship between the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law is said to be warmer and more cordial, involving less conflict, than that found in the neighboring Slavic countries. The young wife also must respect her father-in-law.

In reply to the question, "if there were a quarrel between a man's wife and his parents, with whom would he side?" the customary answer was that he would side with his wife. Many a husband said that he would refrain from scolding his wife in front of his mother even if he thought the wife were wrong. This generalization, though it may have some exceptions, shows that the wife is given a place of importance and not treated like a servant when she comes into the new home.

Many conversations revealed the sense of responsibility that women have toward their parents-in-law, even after their husbands die. Their remarriage is not greatly encouraged. One day at the Tripolis (Peloponnesos) market, a widow, whose husband had died seventeen years before, mentioned that she had an older son in Indiana who wanted her to come with her other son to the United States and settle with him: "I would like to go but my in-laws are too old to be left. If I went, who would look after them?" Such behavior, not at all uncomon, shows the continuing strength of family ties among the older generation.

Childbirth and Child Care

In Greece to be a mother is to be honored. Furthermore, childbirth is a joyous occasion. In the past, most children were delivered at home — it was a family affair and not a medical one, unless the birth was unusually

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Marriage

Even before an engagement is agreed upon, relatives check the kinship of the boy and girl to be sure that they are not too closely related to marry. In Mesolongi, for instance, a few years ago those related up to the fourth degree could not marry, but this is beginning to break down somewhat. Around Arta second cousins may marry, but in many parts of Macedonia there are restrictions up to third cousins. Generally throughout Greece, young people with the same godparent are considered "spiritual brethren" and cannot marry. It does not take long for some knowledgeable relative to review the kinship lines and decide whether the engagement would violate local customs, which are as important as the official church position on this matter.

Panos D. Bardis, in writing on the main features of the Greek family during the twentieth century, summarizes the teachings of the Greek Orthodox Church regarding the goals of marriage as follows: 1. increase of the human race; 2. promotion of mutual helpfulness among the members of the family; 3. restraint of passions; 4. Christian training of the young. He points out that some of these goals have been only partially achieved because of the patriarchal and authoritarian nature of the Greek family, but they remain those set forth by the church. Bardis also makes a useful summary of the essential elements of the engagement and wedding ceremonies:

1. Rings: the man's ring is of gold and symbolizes the sun, whereas the woman's ring is of silver and symbolizes the moon.
2. Crowns: these denote the marital bond and the glory of the sacrament. In Greece, these crowns are made of flowers, or evergreen, while the Russian Orthodox Church in earlier days preferred replicas of the Royal Crown.
3. Wine: this is offered to the couple in remembrance of the marriage in Cana, and symbolizes their mutual sharing of unhappiness in life.
4. Public confession of consent by both parties.
5. Blessing of the priest, which is considered very essential and is repeatedly stressed in the writings of the early church fathers.[9]

If one bears these five points in mind, the description of a peasant wedding takes on more meaning and makes greater sense to one not brought up in the Orthodox faith. Furthermore, it is apparent that the church ceremony itself is only one part of the unfolding drama in which the whole village takes a keen interest. Here, in free translation, is a day-by-day account of what happened in the village of Artotina in Aetolia, just prior to the outbreak of World War II.[10]

When the bride is ready with her dowry and the amount of money has been given to the groom's family, the date of the marriage is fixed, always on a Sunday unless one of the two people has been married before, in which case the

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[587] [539] second marriage is set for a Saturday evening. (This custom brings to mind a common Greek proverb: "Everything was wrong, and even the wedding was on Monday.")

[252] On the Wednesday before the date of the marriage, both homes "start the leaven." In the evening the relatives of each home are present at the baking done from freshly milled flour and "untouched water." The kneading trough is placed in the middle of the room, and over this a girl and a boy hold a sieve through which the flour is sifted. Everybody is silent until, all at once, people start throwing coins into the sieve saying "Kalorizika" (Good luck). Three shots are fired to announce to the village that this has been done. The baking starts when enough flour has been sifted. Some of the people take dough which they smear onto the bride's or groom's face. After a late dinner, toward midnight, the people in the groom's home suggest going to the bride's home. When the two parties meet, there is dancing and singing and the firing of pistols. Later on, the groom's party goes back to his home to continue celebrations until daybreak.

[777] [202] [535]

[777] On Friday the display of the dowry starts. Women from all over the village come in to look at it and bring with them basil, rice, and cotton "just for good luck." When the women have seen the dowry, the "filling of the sacks" starts after the mother has put a copper container into a large homespun sack. While the bride stows away her household equipment and her own clothes into these sacks, those present throw in coins. Once the sacks have been filled, the mattresses, covers, and cushions are placed in piles and the friends sprinkle everything with rice and pin sweet-smelling herbs in between the clothes. Then the women, and especially the young girls, start dancing in the bride's courtyard.

[535] [203] [262] [765] On the same day the groom sends two boys around the village, one of whom carries a jug full of wine and the other a written invitation for relatives and friends to a dinner on the wedding day. The bride's father does the same. From Friday on, the special dishes are prepared: loaves of bread with symbolic patterns across the top, pies, meat, and wine. If a person is in mourning and is invited to the wedding dinner, he is obliged to take some food on Saturday evening.

[203] [262] On Saturday morning the bride calls the young girls "to help her get married." Some of her friends take Turkish delight, bonbons, and other sweets and go with these offerings to invite the rest of the young girls to the wedding.

[535] On Sunday after the regular morning church service, people begin to gather in the homes of the bride and the groom. The girls go to the bride's home to form an honorary escort and dance in her yard, while the boys dance in the groom's yard. During this time, while the bride is getting dressed, a party goes from the groom's home to fetch the sponsor (koumbaros) who either rides or goes on foot to the groom's home. There a white flag, adorned with apples and sweet herbs, is hoisted. The koumbaros is always the groom's godfather or one of his sons if the godfather has died. If for some reason the godfather cannot be present, he gives his blessing and permits the groom to choose another "best man" or sponsor. When the koumbaros has arrived at the groom's home, the procession is ready to start for the bride's home.

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First comes a young man carrying the flag, followed by the priest and the

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As a final note on courtship and marriage, it is proper to ask what happens if a marriage does not turn out successfully for either or both parties. Until about twenty years ago a divorce was never thought of as a possibility by peasants; indeed, they considered even the thought of it a disgrace to a family. Even today, when so many changes are present in Greek life, village divorces are still relatively rare. When they do occur, the divorcée has a hard time getting another husband, for the relatives of any prospective mate are afraid that she might start to lead a bad life and bring shame on them. In some villages where there is considerable urban influence, the idea of getting a divorce is tied in with the newer conception of women's rights, and in this connection it is not viewed as a matter of shame but as a matter of fashion. A woman who wishes to stand on her legal rights begins to talk in terms of divorce in case she thinks her husband is abusing her.

As in the case of the divorcée, the fate of the widow is much more difficult than that of the widower. The widow, if she is dutiful, observes a long period of mourning which keeps her out of circulation in the marital market; also, she is in competition with a surplus number of unmarried women who are apt to be preferred. In any event, she must have a dowry to contribute to her new husband. Under some circumstances, such as having children who are the pride and joy of their paternal grandparents, she may stay on in her deceased husband's home. If she does not meet a functional need there, but is an extra mouth to feed, she will try to arrange for her own relatives to take her back.

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Vasilika

or in a regular pattern of circulation through several generations among particular sets of such groups. The control of property establishes social links between a man and his wife's relatives not only in the ways we have mentioned, but because his wife's parents and brothers and sisters have a legal and customary right to be consulted before the final alienation of dower property (Section 1418). These links last only one generation, however, so that in each generation a new network of relations between elementary families in the neighborhood develops, clustering around the management of dower properties. These matters are important because they reveal some of the economic and social structure of Vasilika and its neighborhood that is congruent with the type of relationships people, both kin and non-kin, have with each other (see Chapter 5).

One other situation occurs frequently enough in Vasilika to be worth mentioning. When a farmer has no sons to inherit his land and his house, but has a daughter, the father may acquire a man's assistance on the farm by importing a son-in-law. Such a man is called a *soghambros* in Vasilika; he is a husband who moves into his wife's household instead of vice-versa. The importation of a *soghambros* is also a solution to the problem of a young widow who has no grown sons to run the farm left by her husband and arranges a second marriage for herself with a man who is willing to work her first husband's holdings and her original dower lands. Since a *soghambros* is always a manager of, and the laborer on, property belonging to others and is expected to bring no property of his own with him, there is a slight social stigma attached to the status of Vasilika. The villagers say also that a *soghambros* is not "master in his own house." Certainly, the lot of a man who is not a master in his own house and comes as a stranger to a village where most of the other men have known each other all their lives is not a happy one. But a *soghambros* is not really dishonored by his position; the villagers, in this situation, as in so many others, recognize the practical necessities which brought about the arrangement and do not strongly condemn a man for making the best of his difficulties.

The dowry in Vasilika enters into the life of the villagers in other ways besides inheritance at marriage. It has long served as a means of upward social mobility for girls. Since, as we have seen, the marriage of a daughter is among the most important obligations of parents, the dowry comes into the consciousness of the villagers more often as a property requirement for marrying off their daughters than as a means of transmitting inheritance. When, in addition, the high value placed on upward social mobility is translated into an effort to find urban sons-in-law for one's daughters, the dowry emerges as a mechanism for increasing the social prestige of the family. Farmers are willing to give larger dowries in exchange for the great satisfaction they derive from having town sons-in-law. In Vasilika, the education of some sons has released land to add to the girls' dowries. Improved agricultural income has also enabled the farmers to give larger dowries. In the decade ending in 1959, every marriage of a Vasilika daughter whose father was in the upper half of the village's income range had been one with a man of respectable occupation who lived in a provincial town or in Athens. The husbands are tailors, small retail store-owners, or civil service workers. One young man is a photographer, another is a gymnasium